

Doc. 620L

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極秘

第四回弘報委員會決議事項

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既報

(印)

昭和八年二月十五日

弘報委員會

Doc. 620 L

No. 6

關內ニ對シ滿洲國、真摯及厚良系、暴
疾非遺ニシテ滿洲國權、亂行爲ヲ摘剔シ以テ
排張附滿、氣運ヲ促進ス
外蒙特ニ力ヲ施シ張家口方面ヨリタル赤化運
動ニ對シ深甚、考慮ヲ拂ヒ所要、宣傳
ヲ行フ

其、四關係各機關業務、分擔並連絡
一、對外宣傳ハ主トシテ日本大使館、滿洲國外
交部之ニ當リ、關東軍司令部ハ在外武官
ヲ通シテ行フ
二、對支那本土及日本ニ對スル宣傳ハ主トシ
テ日本大使館及關東軍司令部之ニ當リ
三、滿洲ニ於テル宣傳ハ主トシテ滿洲國關
東軍司令部、関東廳、滿鉄之ニ當リ
四、適當、時機、關係各機關、宣傳機關
一部ヲ奉天ニ派遣ス
各機關ニ於テ又此重要ナル宣傳ハ機ヲ失
スル相互連絡スルモノトス

Various Problems of Reviving Asia
by OKAWA, Shumei.

* 2.

"Ten years ago, I was a student devoted to the pursuit of knowledge not unwilling to become a priest but now I, giving lectures on the Colonial History, Colonial Policy and Oriental Affairs at the Takushoku (Colonial) University, have become a champion holding the ideals for reviving Asia as dear as my life together with youths studying at the institution on the Momijikaoka Hill (T.N.: referring to the Takushoku University)" Ll. 2-5, P. 3 (Preface)

Checking up the quotation marks on the work of OKAWA, Shumei, "Various Problems of Reviving Asia"

1. "As I read them (books on India), I realized that not only India, but also on the vast Asiatic continent there is no place that has not been trampled underfoot by the white people and there is no race that has not been enslaved by them". (page 2.)

*

3. "It was indeed at this time that I was greatly attracted by Mohammed faith, openly brandishing that doctrine of the Koran or the sword, where there is not a hair's breadth between religion and politics." (page 4.)

4. "So the spread of knowledge about Asia is far greater than a few years ago, but it is not enough yet. If we knew enough, there would be none of us who would not rise, with the sword of exorcism in hand, in the fullness of our righteous indignation." (P. 5)

5. "If in the soul of the Japanese race still existed the same spirit as the heart of Emperor TENCHI who declared war against the Great Tang Empire to assist KUDARA (old name of Korea) for justice, that of HO-TAIKO, who scolded an envoy from MING (prosperous dynasty in old China about 350 years ago), tearing the written proposal, and that of KAMAKURA, Gogoro who tried to kill his friend for the sake of his honor, the Japanese would be unable to sit in silence and with folded arms, looking at the present state of Asia and realizing how it is developing. If the articles in this book can inspire the people, be it ever so little, with the noble cause of reviving Asia, my effort will be amply rewarded." (Pages 5 to 6.)

6. "Our way may lead us through disorder for a time, but the construction of Japan on such a scale as according to the ideals of Mahayanist Buddhism means no other than the birth of the genuine Asia." (Page 7.)

7. "Then all over Asia, the tide of resistance against white domination rose. Thus the strife between the white people and the non-white people has come to assume a concrete form of racial struggle."

8. "The former aims at enslaving a nation under the mask of justice, while the latter frankly claims justifiable necessities and at the same time make other country maintain its honor as a truly independent country." (Page 167 to 168)

復員軍閥の暗闘

大川周明著

據幸

一 顧ミ行クウチニ、單リ印度ノミナラズ、茫々タル
軍閥大陸、處トシテ白人ノ蹂躪ニ萎セザルナク、
民トシテ彼等ノ奴隸タラザルナキヲ知了シタ。

(三)

二十年以前、出家遁世サヘシ衆ネマジカリシ志念求
道ノ一學徒、今ハ則チ拓殖大學ニ植民史ヲ學ジ、
植民政策ヲ學ジ、東洋事情ヲ學ジツツ、武俠ノ魂
ヲ抱イテ紅雲ケ岡ノ學堂ニ知識ヲ積ル青年ト共ニ、
復員軍閥ヲ生命トスル一戰士トナツタ。

(三)

三 創カコラシカノ憧憬ヲ懷向ニ振興シ、宗教ト政治
トニ同一義ナキマホメツトノ信仰ニ、イタク心惹
カレシモ、亦實ニ此頃ノ事デアツタ。

(四)

四 之ヲ數年以前ニ比シテ同日ノ談デナイトハ言ヘ、
軍閥軍閥ノ普及ハ尙未タ充分デナイ。若シ之ヲ
知ルコト充分ナラバ、誰カ抑ヘ難キ義懷ヲ抱イテ
陸軍ノ側ヲ救ラザルヲ得シ。

(五)

或 若シ日本民族ノ魂ニ、正義ノ爲ニ百濟ヲ燬ケテ大
唐管轄ニ宣戦セル天智管ノコ、ロ猶存シ、冊ヲ授
イテ明國ノ使臣ヲ叱咤セル皇太閤ノコ、ロ猶存シ、
面目ノ爲ニ其友ヲ殺サントセル鎌倉權五郎ノコ、
ロ猶存スルナラバ、亞細亞ノ現状ヲ究メ、其ノ大
勢ノ趨ク所ヲ知ツテ、而モ談シテ盡シ得ル道理ガ
ナイ。本書ノ附屬ガ、聊カニテモ復興亞細亞ノ大
義ヲ國民ノコ、ロニ鼓吹シ得ルナラバ、予ノ勞作
ハ圓ヒラレテ餘リアル。

(三一六)

大 碎啄一時、大東日本ノ建設コソ、取リモ直サズ眞
亞細亞ノ誕生デアル。

(七)

セ 前者ハ名ヲ正義ニ藉リテ一國ノ國民ヲ奴隷トスル
モノ、後者ハ赤裸々ニ自國ノ正當ナル必要ヲ主張
シ、爾時ニ他國ヲシテ眞實獨立ノ面目ヲ保タシメ
ントスルモノデアル。

(一六七—一六八)

Biographical Sketch of Dr. Shumei OKAWA.

Dr. Shumei OKAWA was born in the city of Sakata, Yamagata prefecture on the 6th of December, 1886. From the 5th Higher College he entered the Imperial University of Tokyo. After making a special research on the philosophy of India for several years he made a presentation of a dissertation concerning the study made by Ruju, an eminent scholar on the philosophy of India.

In the summer of 1911 he was graduated from the University. While all of his classmates, finding successful positions respectively were started on the path to honor and riches, he, contented with his extremely poor lot, concentrated wholeheartedly upon the difficult task of scrutinizing the Truth and seeking after the path of Righteousness. Meanwhile, his pious and sincere soul found faith in Christ, believed in the teachings of Confucius, Mencius, Lao-tse and Sungtse. Among the Occidentals, he was especially attracted by the opinions of Plato and Marx, besides engaging in the study of Spinoza, Emerson and Dante. Furthermore, his eagerness in seeking after the truth made him study as far back as 'Upanishat', the fountain head of Indian thoughts. Turning, then, abruptly from foreign ideas, he came back to Japanese Buddhism expounded by Honen, Shinran and Kichiren; furthermore by studying the original ideas of Japanese Shintoism, he came to grasp the essence of the Samurai Spirit of Japan. For several years he had to wade through a thorny life of struggle and extreme hardship. Yet, his academic mind was like a crucible in which ancient and modern ideas of the Occident and the Orient were forged together naturally, presenting a most complicated and colored figure in substance; and there was almost nothing lacking in his thoughts. After studying tirelessly and travelling from one thought to another, Dr. OKAWA at last succeeded in arriving at a thorough understanding of the pure national polity of Japan. Thus he came to possess the great irrevocable determination to realize this national ideal. His burning zeal in seeking after the truth and diamond-like unshakeable belief not only made him different from a mere man of ideas but one with practical ideas and practical ability full of ideas. Thus under such an assurance of his belief he has turned from a zealous truth seeking academic doctor into a practical self-made active fighter in order to realize what he believes.

Thereupon, he began to concentrate his attention upon the study of political questions in the most broad sense and started on the great path of actual salvation of mankind.

The first shock which struck him was when he was thrown into this irksome world from out of 'the ivory tower', that is from the University, and behold the most miserable state of Asia and its people who were being exploited and oppressed by the white people of both Europe and America who did not care to give even the slightest thought as to when and where to stop their greedy hands. Thereupon, his noble idea to save mankind in general, surged forward, and he concentrated his efforts upon the completion of the colossal task of renovation of Asia and uplifting of its peoples. As an instant flash of his sharp, powerful mind and to meet a demand of the present age, he has founded the University of Colonization where he opened lectures on History of Colonization, Oriental Aspects and Policy of Colonization, etc. From the platform at Momi-jigaoka he

began to train young students. Meanwhile his research work came to a conclusion and a book titled 'Study on the System of Special Colonization Companies' was published and at last the doctor, who is the graduate of the Department of Philosophy received a degree of A.L.D.

Dr. OKAWA came to feel keenly as to Japan having a great responsibility to accept a colossal task of reviving Asia; and having this in view he thought first of all that Japan must necessarily have her rebirth and the second Restoration. In order to do this he has come to a decision to purge Japan, which he thought is under the influence of materialism caused by Capitalism and Socialism, which no doubt brought about moral downfall and chaos of the Japanese people. He maintained that by realizing heaven's will upon earth and to make a national foundation with a first principle of moral uprightness is the most important duty in the reconstruction of Japan and to realize the second restoration. Thereupon the Doctor began to cry out on the first line bravely for the renovation of Asia and became a most audacious fighter for his unshakable belief in the work. He is now standing on the pinnacle of a great current which is sweeping and bubbling for the reconstruction of the Japanese Empire and realization of Restoration with his inexhaustible and profound ideas in concert with a peaceful and appropriate practical ability; and he stands as a pioneer in the great task of reinstating the just situation in Asia; his responsibility and hopes are getting greater and harder day by day.

(P. 29)

Our ancestor's belief was the realization of the highest ideal on this earth. On the contrary, the Japanese at present are complaining about the surplus population and do not know how to manage the prosperous growth of the Japanese nation. There is a big difference between the two spirits. We should restore the self-consciousness of old times in the present generation. Our ancestors administered Japan with a very strong self-belief. This belief is shown most clearly in time of war. War in old times was done to submit those who did not submit to the Emperor's will, as it is clarified in our classical literature.

'To obey the Emperor's will' (MATSUROU) means 'to worship one God', in other words, it means to embrace one ideal. They have never fought with self-interest nor self-desire of their own. They fought against those who did not embrace the same ideal as then in order to let them hold the same ideal, with their KUMASHIROKO (an effective weapon of which they were proud.) They called their enemies gods. For instance, they called their enemies by different names according to their power and strength, such as 'disobedient god', 'violent god', 'glowing god of firefly' or 'wicked god', and all of their enemies were regarded as gods.

'To regard as a god' means to regard as a human being who has the substance of being a god, viz., to respect the holiness and integrity of personality. Is there any other race which respected the enemy's personality like our ancestors, among other countries in ancient time?

Page 263.

The Sino-Japanese War was a heavy burden for the common people of Japan. They could not help getting tired of the war; nevertheless, the Japanese bureaucracy and political parties would not establish any social institution to console these groggy people nor to reward them for their efforts.

Page 264.

Then the Russo-Japanese War followed. Through the desperate efforts and loyalty of the whole nation, Japan was able to become a first class nation in the world. At this time, the Japanese statesmen ought to have paid careful attention in order to console those braved people and to promote the social welfare; the number of men who went to the front mounted to several hundred thousand, leaving their old parents, wives and children crying with hunger, or losing their fortunes, or dying in a foreign land. In spite of this they actually got nothing. Only the common people knew the disaster and misery of war, they could get nothing, or what they got was not enough. Suppose the people were not given what they could get, they would take it by force. The Japanese people became aware of their position in society, and of their contribution towards the country, thus they began to demand their righteous right and interest. This demand appeared in all kinds of political or social movements, but still the policy and attitude of the statesmen towards it was no more than pressure and oppression. They prohibited the general people to use the word 'SOCIETY', and imprisoned those who asserted 'DEMOCRACY', and those who demanded the expansion of suffrage were treated as traitors.

Page 265.

The MEIJI Government needed the support of the plutocracy (the so-called ZAIBATSU), and from the beginning the political parties had connection with it. But this conspiracy was not formed because they were conscious of the power of money in the modern industrial system. After the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese War, and at KATSURA Taro's best days, the bureaucracy and the political parties came to recognize the power and influence of gold keenly, thus they tried to conspire with plutocracy purposely, and the critical voices against plutocracy began to be heard among the people. Conspiracy between the Government and the ZAIBATSU rendered the plutocracy to get chance and convenience to earn their own right and interest easily disregarding law and custom.

Under these conditions, it is quite natural that the government should corrupt. Moreover, at the time of KATSURA, secret interview was held frequently between the Government and the ZAIBATSU; it was done privately under the pretext of dining together.

At the time of the OKUMA Cabinet, when the political program was published, OKUMA invited those ZAIBATSU to his official residence openly at midday, and asked their help and support towards the Government. From that time up to today, it has been a common custom of a new cabinet to invite the ZAIBATSU in order to ask their help.

Page 266.

The outbreak of the World War promoted the progress of the mechanism of modern capitalistic economy, and has enlarged the difference between the poor and the rich, and on the other hand, the boundless rise of prices rendered the daily life of the people miserable and dangerous. Nevertheless, the Government would not do anything to save the poor, nor defend the dreadful struggle among the classes, nor oppress the capitalists; but on the contrary, the Government tried to get in contact with those businessmen who acquired millions of wealth through the World War.

However open-hearted and forgetful the nation might be, they would not forget that terrible rice riot. It was on August 1918, when the rice riot broke out all over Japan when the commandant of the Expedition Troops to Siberia was about to start for the front after visiting the Imperial tomb of the Meiji Emperor at NISHIKINO.

The Japanese forces had to shoot their fellow countrymen instead of shooting the enemy. Think of their attitude during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese War! The whole nation bore all the sufferings and hardships facing the national emergency. Nevertheless, the same people raised a rice riot for the sake of their own food and clothing when the army was about to start for the front. Snow comes after frost, everything has its indication. By this accident we could see a dangerous defect of modern Japan.

After that, the condition of Japan began to fall rapidly, hostility between the rich and the poor, enmity between landowners and tenants, and conflict between laborers and capitalists became more and more severe, and by this time moderation could do nothing. It was clear that the capitalistic economic system which had exposed such defects in many ways ought to have been reformed fundamentally. In spite of this, connections extending over many years between the privileged class and the SAMURAI interrupted the realization of a basic reformation, and only a temporary policy has been repeated fruitlessly.

The Feudalistic government which had been the origin of numerous evils perished away, and so did the bureaucracy which had been criticized as being too absolute and tyrannical, and the party politics came out which had been supposed as an ideal since the beginning of the MEIJI Restoration. Still the people were disappointed in party politics and they came to have a new political ideal in their heart.

Page 267.

The outbreak of the Manchurian Incident was a big opportunity to develop the situation, and by this accident, the sleeping loyalty of the nation was awakened. Democratism and communism, which had been overwhelming throughout the realm became inactive, and nationalism took its place and became prosperous beyond comparison.

Through the oppression of foreign Powers towards the Manchurian Incident, secession from the League of Nations and the withdrawal from the London Treaty, the national consciousness became more and more strong and the independent spirit has been restored, subjugating the former adoration of Europe and America. The people have come to realize that Japan is in an emergency. Japan was full of poor farmers, workers and unemployed, and meaning voices with the hardships of living were heard throughout the country; besides this, her international

position was also dangerous because of the persistent jealousy of foreign Powers. The necessity for a thorough and general renovation of the state was keenly felt facing the present emergency, and a fundamental reformation all over Japan was necessary. Thus the loud cry from the Showa restoration has been repeatedly heard. Thus the people now want to follow the principle of the Emperor's direct rule. They want to get rid of the abuses arising from the party politics to which the party's interests are primary, and the national policy is secondary. They demand the realization of truly Japanese politics to which they can devote their life and in which the people's ideal of the whole nation being united into one will be realized. They also demand the realization of a real Japanese economic system which will stabilize the national life throughout the country by putting an end to the selfish exploitation of capitalistic economy to which personal profit is primary and the people's profit is secondary. Moreover, they demand the realization of a real Japanese education which will cultivate a true Japanese by teaching the original spirit of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, the essence of the Japanese nation and the ideals of the Japanese nation. As these demands are righteous demands, they will surely be satisfied even if there are opposition and oppression by those who wish to maintain the status. Japan is now facing the SHOWA restoration.

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日本文明概說

大川 局明 著

大川局明博士明治十九年（一八八六）十二月六日生於山形縣酒田市。自第五高等學校，入東京帝國大學專攻印度哲學數年，提出關於印度哲學巨匠龍樹的研究生論文。明治四十四年夏，離開了學校。同學們雖都已一一任職，趨同榮達之路，博士却甘於清貧，潛心於究其永追的難題。其間博士的虔真摯之魂，歸依於基督，歸依於孔孟老莊，歸依於柏拉圖，歸依於馬克思，沈究於斯比諾薩，娶婦生，但丁。更遠溯印度思想的源流烏巴尼沙達。專而歸同到法然，親鸞，日蓮的日本佛教，精研日本國有的神道思想，把握得日本武士道的真髓。若干星霜，真是在所謂愚戰苦闘之過中。其學識思想，於洋之東國時之今古熔鑄於一爐，內谷復雜多形，無一不備。因下了苦功夫作思想的巡歷，最後博士遂能對於純真的日本國體，有了透徹的認識，並且得了實現這國家理想的根據之不竭的一大信念。而博士的熾烈的求道的熱意，和金剛不壞的信念，不許其早成爲一個思想人，他在「有了實行思想才能帶出思想，有了思想的實行，才有價值」這臨離信之下，一同不迴走個潛心永追的一個學徒的博士，一變遂變成一個實踐躬行矢志於現實活動的士了。

於走博士注力於最夙仇意味的政治問題的研究，
同着現實的救濟人類的大道邁進。最初觸發博士之觸
的，是觸發也身出家牙哈而進入現實社會的博士之觸
的，乃是爲歐美白人無狀的重壓具難取所虐待的亞洲
民族和亞洲大學的慘痛的實情。於是博士的救濟全人
類的理想，首先集中於完成復興亞洲的偉。其鏗鏘的
一躍，便是，應時代的號召，在拓殖大學開設了殖民史
，殖民政策，東洋經濟等等的講座。在紅葉岡的教壇
之上訓育青年的學子。他的研究告了大成，著成「特
許殖民社會」之研究」一書，公之於世，哲學科出
身的博士，遂獲得了法學博士的學位。

博士痛覺到日本負着復興亞洲的大業的領導的
重責，而日本國家的經濟更生，實爲一個必須的先決
的條件。於是澈底地排斥因資本主義的唯物思想下的
日本國家以及日本國民的皇權言述，主張以實現天理
則天行地爲第一義的這般國家觀作基礎，改造日本國
家，實行第二義的，乃爲最大的時勢。於是博士爲了
復興亞洲，而雄糾糾地起來變成一位，最勇敢果敢信念
堅固的戰士。以他的豐富深遠的思想，應運適切的實
踐，立在現在日本國家改造經濟實現的大潮流的第一
線，成爲達成復興亞洲的偉業的先鋒，他的實望日益
巨大起來了。

國文讀本

第三部 大正四國書

第二章 日本國體之建設

第一章 日本國體

至高の理想が我々の心に燃え、用ゐるべきが吾等の
 種族の自信である。今日我々が同胞に人口過剰
 なる、嗚呼、日本國體の繁殖を博して餘りて居るに
 此が故也。其の故は天壤の差がある。吾等の昔
 より今までの天の益は、日増えを休す今自ら復たせし
 るにたつた。

吾等、祖先に伝へたる自信を以て日本國の運命に
 従ふ。此の自信は、今日の場合に於て最も重要な
 此の點は、吾等、はたして其の甘明瞭なる如く、近代の
 戦争に於て、我々の國を以ては、たゞに其の
 其の子弟は終つて、今、其の味にして、同一の神を奉
 ずる。換言すれば、同一理想を奉ずる。吾等、

満洲事変は、叙上の形勢を轉向せしむる一大機縁となつた。實に此一舉によりて國民の魂に眠れる愛國心が俄然として目覺した。遂に一丘を風靡せる民主主義が次々推行せる共産主義は漸く其影を國民の間に潜め、之に代つて國家主義的傾向が空前に旺盛となつた。而して満洲事変に対する所強の壓迫を峻拒し、敢然として國際聯盟の脱退、並に倫敦條約の廢棄を断行する。及んで國民的自覺頗る強烈を加へ、從來の過激な左翼政本崇拜を超脱し、澄明なる自主的精神の更なる見られた。

國民は日本が非常時に至ることを痛切に意識し、内は農氏の窮乏、労働者の貧困失業等の増大に列し、外は治の慘苦に呻吟する者が高く外は列強の執拗な嫉視によつて國際的地位もまた極めて險悪である。此の非常時に処して、能く神武建國の精神を宣揚し、神聖な國體を無窮に護持し、天孫を四海に恢弘するのためは國家の全面に亘りて徹底せ。革新が必要とせられ、進和維新の要求がまゝ高く叫ばれ初めた。かくて國民は、天皇親政の本義に則り、憲法を主として國策を従とする政治、政治の陋習を打破し、優越を一新して國民的理想を

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TITLE: The Founders of Asia by OKAWA, Shumei
Published January 1941.

Extracts:

A great achievement cannot be made by one person's strength and moreover, without the resolution and leadership of an outstanding man, any great thing cannot be hoped to be achieved. (page 1).

Now, again, I cannot help but realize the words expressed by an ancient man that the strength of a man is mighty enough to raise his country or to ruin it. (p.1-2)

Here, I have selected five heroes purposely intending to represent more clearly, through the description of their life of hardship and strenuous efforts, the processes of trials, sufferings and restoration of their countries in which they were born. I admit that the restoration of Asia is obviously a stage of development that is inevitable in world history; however, it was nothing other than their sublime spirits to have enabled them to perceive the trend of the times with superior air and lead Asia to the right direction when people in the world were in utter confusion. (page 2)

The dream of the British Imperialists was to realize the Pan-Arabianism by making the FUSAIN family as their puppet. They conspired to make FUSAIN the king of Hijaz, Transjordan, Iraq, Syria and Kurdistan, combining these countries or bringing them under a single authority of the Arabic Empire and to make it a protectorate of the British Empire. In 1918 when the World War ended with the results of the surrender of the Central Powers and the complete collapse of the Turkish Empire, this plan seemed to be going well. Had this magnificent dream been realized the British control would have extended far from the Chinese border to the Mediterranean Sea, and her power in Asia would have been redoubled in a short time. The obstacles which prevented the realization of this dream were the rapid revival of Turkey, which nobody expected, the strong opposition of France to the Near East, policies of the British Empire and the distrust of the British Empire which prevailed in all Moslem countries. But the greatest obstacles were the deep rooted opposition and conflicts between FUSAIN and IBN SAUD which finally ended in the latter's victory. (page 55-56)

The legend says that MAHOMET said, "Declare the Holy War only when victory is sure". IBN SAUD, proves himself to be a great diplomat and statesman on the point that he has strictly observed this testament. Arabia is a poor

desert country surrounded by Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq. These countries are not only far wealthier than Arabia but larger. As IBN SAUD exercised his power over the whole neighborhood, his (RAHAB) army's spirits were highly raised and then he desired eagerly to conquer these surrounding countries in order to realize the dream of the past Arabian Empire. There were, in fact, many good chances for him to do so. Despite this he controlled his exulting spirit to refrain itself from rushing into the conquest. He knew that the country that was encircling him with these powers was none other than Britain and he was much enraged at her.

IBN SAUD is sometimes called "Cromwell of the Desert". His belief in God being the foundation of all his acts was the point in common between the two. He says, "I am a Mohammedan first and an Arabian second. And I am always a servant of God". He has been fighting in such belief as mentioned above. He already has achieved the mission of unifying Arabia and will hereafter devote himself more than ever to his mission. (Page 79-80)

The course MUSTAFA proceeded on was not zigzag such as Hitler's or Mussolini's but was a single straight one. His course, however, was no less difficult than theirs. The things that made them surmount their difficulties were their firm self-confidence, immovable trust in their comrades, penetrating insight into the tendency of the times and the public sentiment, courage of defying the old orders, wonderful perseverance in their works and inexhaustible energy. MUSTAFA lacks the vision and intuition of HITLER, but as far as his energy is concerned we may call it super-human. (page 213)

Thirty years ago an admirable English woman who, worshipping ardently the Indian spirit, revived in modern times, practised religious austerities under Mr. VEKHA NANDA (T.N. direct transliteration) and, changing her name to NEVEDITA (T.N. Direct transliteration), devoted herself for India, expressed her deep understanding of the Indian spirit with elevated sentiment becoming to a woman, as follows: "I believe that the strength which spoke in the Vedas and Upanishads, in the making of religions and empires, in the learning of scholars, and the meditation of saints, is born once more amongst us, and its name today is nationality.

"I believe that the present of India is deep-rooted in her past, and before her shines a glorious future.

"Oh, Nationality, come thou to me as joy or as sorrow, as honor or as shame! Make me thine own!" (pp 278-279)

As far as the revolutionary movement in India is the political manifestation of the resurrected Indian spirit, it should take off the Western European coloring in due course of time and become thoroughly Indianized like the revival movements in the rest of the fields. As was expected, this theory has changed to reality by the appearance of GANDHI. (pp. 323-324)

The greatness of GANDHI lies in his organizing and unifying power. He says, "It is because of the demoniac administration of the British Government that we challenge her to battle. We have risen to sweep her from our country." And he also says, "The English people have made us incapable to fight at the glorious battlefields of the government but the road of battle for courageous souls is left wide open before us."

Really, the above given are the words of GANDHI himself. (pp. 325-326)

It is the fact, methinks, that almost all Indians have as their ideal the total exclusion of all British rule and they have already realized it spiritually. (p. 333)

While India was fighting hard battle to secure her independence, the world political situation has rotated rapidly and presented a threatening aspect in Europe and East Asia. With this world changes, the All-India Congress which was absorbed in the exclusion of British rule and extortion has at last begun to watch the international political situations and, at the same time, has come to feel the need of establishing policies in accordance with it. When HITLER and MUSSOLINI raised their heads, many of the Indian nationalists admired and praised them heartily as champions for overthrowing British Imperialism. Following the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, they consistently sympathized and respected Japan and they welcomed Japanese military and economical progress as the fortress in Asia against European Imperialism. However, since dictatorship was established in Germany and Italy, they have begun to hold dissatisfaction against those policies. And the All-India Congress has begun to attack violently the oppression upon socialism in Italy and the expulsion of Jews in Germany. Since the outbreak of the China Incident, it has begun to

harbor hostility against Japan as an Imperialistic invader.

NEHRU stressed that Imperialism, Fascism, and Capitalism were all enemies of India and India should fight against these three reactionary forces to the last. During the State Assembly Election campaign in 1938, he made more than a thousand speeches throughout India. In those speeches he repeatedly criticized Japan, Germany and Italy, explained the danger of Fascism and warned against the advent of totalitarianism in India,..... and he went in person to Spain and China to transmit the Indian people's sympathy. (pp. 419-421)

In this visit, NEHRU told the Chinese as follows: "For many years, we have been fighting against the powerful Imperialism for our own freedom. Our long experience convinces us that there is no true freedom unless Imperialism and Fascism and the aggression which assists them are swept away from the world."

And when he came back to India he stated again as follows: "Lay closely to your mind! Whatever reorganization of the world may be done, it will surely be of no value unless it is done with the co-operation of free India and free China." (pp. 421-422)

Words and Deeds Japanese Style

By OKAWA, Shumei

CHAPTER I

Words and Deeds Japanese Style
(From Page 9 to 10)

Our ancestors used to live with clear hearts, like a radiant sky, trying always to have "pure and bright minds" and endeavoring never to lose the spirit of "glory" (APPARE). This is something that only those who uphold fair and lofty ideals could attain. With such ideals and with confidence in themselves, those ancestors engaged in the construction and management of Japan. And this attitude and spirit has appeared most remarkably in the case of war. Their wars, indeed, were for no other purpose than to make those refusing to obey (MATSUROWANU) obey (MATSUROWASU). To obey (MATSURO-U) is to observe religious rites together, that is, to worship the same God and hence, embrace the same ideals. They never fought with selfish, greedy hearts. When they rose up with a sharp halberd in hand - blades of which they were proud - the purpose was really to make those who did not hold their ideals follow the same ideals. Therefore, whatever enemies there might be if they once obeyed, they could all become our fellow countrymen and making common cause with each other devote themselves to the realization of the supreme ideals. For this very reason, our ancestors could build a nation that would grow ever more prosperous together with the heaven and earth. The very fact that they built such a nation, most eloquently tells of the magnificent life of our ancestors.

CHAPTER VI

Principle of National Development Movement
(Page 113 to page 114)

1. The meaning of World War.
We believe firmly and do not doubt that the paramount significance of the World War consisted in the birth of a revolutionary Europe and a rising Asia from among the confusion and distress of over five years. It is a plain logic that revolutionary Europe, whatever phase it may take in the long run has entered the first phase of strife of socialism against capitalism; in other words, the rise of laboring classes in the class struggle. It is also a natural process that the rising of Asia should manifest itself in the independence of the Asiatic races enslaved by Europe and in the true freedom of the various countries of Asia from the oppression of Europe - in other words, in a rising tide against the white men in the racial struggle. This process is under way at the present time.

5. The movement which ought to arise in Japan.
(From Page 127 to page 128)

We must grasp clearly the meaning attached to the fact that the three men (T. N. Lenin, Candhi and Kemal Pasha) who are writing the new pages in world's history are openly walking their own independent way. Not only with these three men but the same is the case with any of those who are presently devoting themselves to the great work of national development and rendering meritorious services - such men as Mussolini of Italy, Lesa Khan of Persia, and King Amanula of Afghanistan. Indeed, all states are creations of the spirit of nationality and at the same time are absolute organized structures holding and preserving that spirit. Because they have unique peerless national individualities interwoven of racial natures and characteristic histories the course they follow also cannot but be naturally different. Accordingly, none of the movements for national development permit of any imitation by other countries. The fact that they are carried out by those who have truly appreciated their respective national spirits with such ideals and methods as are peculiar to their several countries is proved by the many heroes before our eyes.

CHAPTER VIII

Teachings from Military Men and Politicians

(From page 154 to page 157)

1. The Nationalistic Contribution of military rule.

For seven hundred years, since YORITOMO in our country, the warriors (Samurai) served both as military men and politicians. The so-called military (BUMON) rule was a rule of permanent nation-wide martial law over the people in the spirit of siege and field warfare. Consequently, the government offices were nothing but castles, and all the government officials were from the military caste. Such posts also as municipal magistrate (MACHI-BUGYO) and financial magistrate (KANJO-BUGYO) during the time of the TOKUGAWA Shogunate are not to be compared with those of present day policemen

or financial commissioners, but rather to those of gendarme commanders or intendants officers. And because Samurai in those days separately belonged to their respective feudal lords, and they regarded it their final duty "to fight for the feudal lords, they had lives to live or give up for official duties, but had no lives to live or give up for personal affairs. That was why, ISHIDA Mitsumari, who fought to the finish with TOKUGAWA Ieyasu as the latter's good match, used to say, "a warrior should not leave behind a thing which he has received from his lord. One who leaves it behind is a thief, and one who runs into debt spending too much is a fool." This emphasizes that in principle a Samurai could possess his lord's warehouse but not his own. Indeed, a Samurai's life formed one inseparable body with the life of the entire Samurai class, and Samurai of one feudal clan forsook all their selfish and self-indulgent "personal affairs" to conform to the orderly and rigorous "official duties," and under the power of a unified structure thus realized, the people of the feudal clan were governed at home and defenses were prepared against the other feudal clans abroad.

Really immense is the value of the spiritual training that this united collective life contributed to the Japanese race. That the Samurai had an enthusiastic love for their feudal clan, is shown by their spirit of respect for the "whole" and the value they placed on "unity." Therefore, later, when they came to know the position of Japan, they disseminated this spirit all over Japan, loved this country just as they had loved their feudal clan, and offered to the Emperor the lives which had been expendable for their feudal lords. If there had been no feudal clans in our country, no clan collective life, and no Samurai training, I think in all likelihood we could never have seen a Japanese race so brave in public wars and so full of patriotic sentiments.

Now, the politicians of the Restoration, who overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate, modeled after Europe and America in administration, and endeavored to organize a modern state by copying European and American institutions. This is a most natural process and, of course, there is nothing too blameworthy in it. It is true, however, that even though it might have been by the force of circumstances, the politicians of that time paid no attention whatsoever to the political traditions of old Japan, but tried totally to overthrow the former shogunate government, branding it as the Tokugawas' government, and thought that they could attain the same results as in Europe and America if they adopted European and American organic institutions. Viewed from today in retrospect, it must be said that this policy was clearly a failure. (From page 158 to 160)

3. The Regeneration of Present Day Government.

However, the case of politicians was not like that of the military

men. Though the politicians were also a branch of Samurai, they committed to the sole care of the Samurai, and gave up the character training of administrators - a matter which the pre-Meiji Restoration Samurai had had to pay attention to. It was the public any particular moral demands of politicians. Consequently, it was thought that anybody could be a politician if only he had business talent and was conversant with laws and institutions; and finally it was even believed that "Politics means stratagems."

Now, suppose a military man accepts a bribe or comes under suspicion of having accepted a bribe and suffers a penalty for it, that person must be ostracized from the Japanese army or navy, no matter how distinguished a general or admiral he may have been. In the case of a politician, however, there is no such apprehension. On the contrary, it is considered an admirable talent for him skillfully to wheedle out filthy lucre. However, if such a politician were attending to administration, the people could never set their minds at ease. Mencius' declaration, "There is no good administration without men of virtue" is a political truth immovable for all ages, at least in the East. Unlike Europeans and Americans, Japanese people are not accustomed to act mechanically, or autonomously in accordance with the external situation. In other words, they have not distinctly separated morality from politics. Accordingly, even if laws and institutions were given to them, it is unthinkable that good administration should be automatically performed and a great nation be realized. To say nothing of their advantages and disadvantages, it can be said that not only in Japan but also in various countries in the East, there are "administrators" but no "administrative laws" as Hsun-tzu said. That there are administrators but no administrative laws means that what is politically most important is the character of politicians but in no way laws and institutions. That evidently opposes to the thought in Europe, attaching more importance to "administrative laws" than "administrators." Though even in Europe, however, a noble character is regarded as a politician's essential qualifications, this is almost neglected in Japan.

Excerpts from the History of the Civilization of Japan

by OKAWA, Shumei.

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A political reform acknowledges that there is something fundamentally unsound in the existing organization of the country and tries to reform and adjust the minor points by altering the laws and regulations, while a revolution radically rejects the organization of the old country and the old society destroys all the old order and organizes a new country based upon an entirely different principle. In this sense, the Meiji Restoration is, in its essence, a perfect revolution.

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Why do we emphasize the necessity of the Second Restoration? Because Japan is a country with sovereign and subjects united into one. We freed the "sovereign" from the oppression of military power by means of the First Restoration, but his "subjects" are now groaning under the oppression of monetary power. Therefore it is the only way of realizing the union of sovereign and subjects to emancipate them from the undue rule of mamon. The destructive side of the Meiji Restoration was happily indicated by the single word of "Anti-Shogunatism," while the constructive side by that of "Imperialism". In the Taisho Restoration, it is the financial groups with mamon as their central power that are to be done away with, and it is the people themselves that are to be retrieved. In other words, the slogan of the Taisho Restoration must be "Retrieve the people. Down with the financial groups!"

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Now the mind of the youth, in a word, reflects the spirit of the people as a whole. The youth has been brought to this pass because, the Russo-Japanese War being a turning point, the people have not had their former stirringness and daringness, studiousness and progressiveness, and thirst for learning and new knowledge in their minds any more, and because temporary ease and self-conceit began to gain strength.

Secondly, the government authorities were responsible for it. When the Southwestern Rebellion ended in the achievement of the great work of the Meiji Restoration, the sublime spirit of the Imperialists gradually lost its lustre, few statesmen were fair and disinterested enough to sacrifice themselves for the sovereign and country, clerical factions dominated in government service while those out of government office cliqued together, the result being that the people resented the insincerity of the statesmen, and thus the people were estranged from the government. Above all, succeeding governments paid little attention to national life and for various reasons protected influential circles and financial groups--a fact which made the people feel that they enjoyed no positive happiness in their national life and naturally weakened their loyalty and patriotism.

Thirdly, the World War, no doubt, helped and aggravated the above-mentioned situation. Economical changes which the War brought about suddenly gave rise to so-called upstarts. The luxury in which these upstarts indulged and the flattering attitude of the politicians towards them made public sentiments very

hand and made prices soar to no one knew how far and rendered national life suddenly precarious and uncertain. Moreover, the shortage of home rice, owing to a great increase in consumption, affected national life most directly and brought about big riots. Thus the enmity between rich and poor, arising from the living problem and the antagonism between capital and labor, suddenly grew to such an extent that it was now quite impossible to settle them with so-called paternalism.

Fourthly, to look at it from the side of thought, democracy, propagandized by scholars and politicians who merely echoed Occidental thoughts and had sold their souls, drove our youth in their twenties to conceive a more and more unsound and abstract idea of the State. On the other hand, "Divine-Tempest" sorts of discourses, ardently advocated by ultra-conservatives who had been adhering to exclusionism at the end of the Shogunate, led to a movement of "Defend our national polity". These conflicting disputes made the people more and more nervous.

Fifthly, we had foreign troubles. It was really the attacks of the Black Ships that were a strong cause of the Meiji Restoration. At the present moment the "Black Ships" are menacing us every moment in the form of British and American policies of Asiatic invasion. The United States of America may have been chosen by Providence to play again the part of a precipitator of a restoration.

Before the World War, Germany was a strong restraint to the expansion of Great Britain and the United States of America. The opposition of the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans was a big breakwater of the White tide which tried to sweep Asia. Now this breakwater is relentlessly destroyed and the tidal wave, as there is nothing to check it, is surging on as swiftly as an arrow. From the southwest, Great Britain has swept, one after another, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India and Tibet, and the waves are now breaking on the shores of the Republic of China. From the northeast, the United States of America comes over the Arctic Ocean from Alaska, enters Manchuria through Siberia, and is now marching towards China from Manchuria. "Germany, and then Japan"--is it not the political psychology of the Anglo-Saxons, too deep and vividly impressed upon them to rub it out by any means? Is there any other alternative for Japan to tide over this national crisis than to change radically her traditional foreign policy and to confront them with Asia on her side? It is an undeniable fact that the uneasiness and anxiety about this approaching national crisis have become a cause of the restlessness and agitation of the people.

Considered in this light, we can no longer keep our country as peaceful and secure as Mt. Fuji by any ordinary means. Yes, the time has come for the Second Restoration. We must stand up in unity in order to save the country from her troubles from within and without, to complete the works left by the veteran statesmen of the Meiji Restoration, to realize a country with sovereign and subjects united into one and to accomplish her international mission. The Meiji Restoration was really accomplished by green lads. The Second Restoration, too, will be accomplished by us, young men. (P.322)

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What are the two facts? One is internal class strife of nations and the other is international racial strife. Certainly, these strifes did not begin today. They have been fought continuously ever since the beginning of nations, and have been the motive for social evolution. Some socialists emphatically advocate social evolution by class strife, but shut their eyes to racial strife; it is only a ridiculously biased view.

In the present age when economic life is emphasized, class strife took the form of a declaration of war by the poor upon the rich. And in these days when the supremacy of Europe is established, it took the more concrete form of efforts for the revival of Asia. It is, indeed, labor problems and the revival of Asia that the World History is now going to settle in its progress.

II.

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In the course of the World War, strife of labor against capital grew more and more severe. Before the War, the so-called Asiatic problem was how the insatiable European Powers would divide Asia, their prey among themselves, but as the War went on, it underwent a complete change in nature and took the form of efforts for the revival of Asia against Europe, its invader and plunderer.

The World War was a war between the German principle of power, with Bernhardi as its spokesman, and the British, French and American principle of bourgeois freedom, and so the other two most important problems were compelled to lie dormant in the background until its conclusion. Therefore when the World War was in full swing, the strife of labor and capital was in truce in every country. This truce, however, was not ascribable to any decisive reasons, but simply to intense concentrated national isolation which were incomparably stronger than the vague internationalism of traditional socialism. In the meantime, the so-called Asiatic problem, too, was at a standstill for a while. What is more, under the pretext of humanity and freedom, the Allied Powers adopted such tempting slogans as the racial self-determination, independence, self-government and the like, and the lesser races, too weak to be independent, took sides with the Allies whose victory seemed to inspire them with great hope.

The World War came to an end. In the natural course of events, the two basic problems which had lain dormant for a while came to the front in a sterner aspect. The strife between labor and capital has now entered a new stage, and these two irreconcilably conflicting principles set all doubts and hesitations at naught and are marching on for a final battle. In Asia, standing up against the existing European rule, the Asiatic races have begun definitely to claim equality and independence.

All other recurrent problems are merely the after-effects of dead past problems. There will be no other living problems in near future than these two.

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XII.

Therefore if the Revolutionized Europe and the Revived Asia forms the substance of the next World History, it is up to Japan to write its first page. If Japan, which has all elements of both the Orient and the Occident in it, really recognizes itself from the bottom of its soul and thinks and acts creatively, then certainly something new will come out of it. Only when something not yet known but expected for its appearance, something not yet experimented in the laboratory of "Time", something not yet painted according to the design of "Nature",--only when these somethings are realized in Japanese national life, the world will go up a step of progress. The Japanese nation must concentrate all her mental and physical power upon this sacred work.